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The Lithuanian Prince-Monk Vojšelk: A Study of Competing Legends

DAVID M. GOLDFRANK

The political mythology of Rus' created heroes from a set of princes who dated back to pagan times. The earliest legends, focusing on military and political prowess, contained elements of folklore. Native writers also combined hagiographic motifs with information from chronicles and other sources to produce a corpus of lives of saintly princes whose outstanding traits were either martyrdom or defense of Rus' from religiously hostile foreigners. The concomitant political doctrines, supporting the rule of Orthodox princes, were simple, consistent, and cogent, and they remained constituent elements of East Slavic state ideology down to 1917.[1]

The advent of Lithuanian power in Western Rus' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries added new clans of legitimate princes to the Rjurykovyči. The Lithuanian prince who converted to Orthodoxy and then promoted or defended Christian Rus' against "Pagan Lithuania" became a novel topic for Rus' princely biography and hagiography. The subsequent establishment of the polity of Lithuanian Rus' created a conceptual dilemma for Lithuania's ruling dynasty and for her Orthodox princes. After 1386 fidelity to Orthodox traditions clashed with the Lithuanian dynasty's Catholicism. However, the earlier association of some members of the dynasty and their predecessors with Orthodox Rus' allowed contemporaries to create a history in which the heroic Lithuanian Orthodox prince was a positive figure. Simultaneously, Muscovite political thinkers were faced with the challenge of incorporating the Lithuanian Rus' Orthodox past and present into their "all-" or "common-Rus'" polity in order to facilitate claims to the West Rus' heritage. They, too, could make use of the virtuous Lithuanian Orthodox prince.

The first Rus' literary treatment of such a figure was the life of Mindovg's son Vojšelk (Vaišvilkas; d. 1267 or 1268).[2] Although he was a monk, his father's murder caused Vojšelk to seize power, with help from

[1] N. I. Serebrjanskij, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija* (Moscow, 1915); also in *Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix,* vol. 3/4 (1915); M. Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People* (New Haven, 1961), pp. 5–100.

[2] Rus'ian forms of Lithuanian names are given as they appear in the sources; Lithuanian forms are given in parentheses the first time a name appears.

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the West Rus', in at least part of Lithuania.[3] The original version of his life contained in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (GVC) gave rise to two other separate Vojšelk traditions, one Novgorodian–East Rus' and the other Lithuanian-Belorussian. These legends, about which this is the first special study, expressed several conflicting political views of the two main heir-competitors to Kievan Rus'. The Vojšelk traditions also illustrate one development of historical myths and the viability of the heroic monk-prince theme in late medieval and early modern Eastern Europe.

I. THE VOLHYNIAN VOJŠELK

The Volhynian Vojšelk tale (V-GVC) lies at the center of the nearly continuous Lithuanian entries in GVC for 1261/2–1277/8 (6770–6786),[4] but it is a complete composition in its own right.[5] The origin and development of V-GVC is difficult to determine, partially because the history of GVC itself is somewhat enigmatic, and also because the chronicle traditions concerning Vojšelk are contradictory. Hen'sors'kyj's reasoned scheme of hypothetical *svod*s or redactions is adequate for the purposes of this study: 1266 (produced in Xolm, favoring Danylo Romanovyč), 1285/86 (Xolm, for Lev Danylovyč), 1289 (Ljubomyl', favoring Volodimer Vasyl'kovyč), and the final year 1292 (?Pinsk, for Mstyslav Danylovyč), as well as 1234 (Peremyšl', for Danylo).[6] However, the hypothesis concerning late thirteenth-century chronicle writing in Lithuanian Rus', and the question of the relationship between certain GVC entries, the Polish annals (*roczniki*), and the Northeast Rus' chronicles, demand some preliminary attention.

[3] The best historical accounts of Vojšelk are found in studies of Lithuania during the second half of the thirteenth century. These include Henryk Paszkiewicz, *Jagiellonowie a Moskwa,* vol. 1: *Litwa i Moskwa w XIII i XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1933); V. T. Pašuto, *Obrazovanie litovskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1959), pp. 382–87; and Zenonas Ivinskis, *Lietuvos istorija* (Rome, 1978), pp. 196–99. Also reliable is S. Sužiedėlis, "Vaišvilkas," *Encyclopedia Lituanica* (hereafter *EL*), 6 vols. (Boston, 1970–78), 6:29–30.

[4] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), 37 vols. to date (St. Petersburg, Leningrad, Moscow, 1841–), 2nd ed. (cited throughout, unless otherwise specified): 855–78; trans. G. A. Perfecky, *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (Munich, 1973), pp. 80–91.

[5] Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj was the first to consider V-GVC a separate work: *Istorija ukrains'koji literatury,* 5 vols. (Kiev and Lviv, 1923–27; rpt., New York, 1959–60), 3:186–88.

[6] A. N. Hen'sors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys: Proces skladannja, redakcii i redaktory* (Kiev, 1958). Supporting and opposing views are presented in Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, pp. 180, 188; V. T. Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* (Moscow, 1950), p. 109; and A. N. Nasonov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 234–42, among others. Hens'ors'kyj sometimes uses the Ukrainian *zvid* as an equivalent for the popular if imprecise Russian term *svod* to designate redaction or compendium of chronicle materials.

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The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle and Lithuania

The notion of a Volhynian appropriation of Lithuanian Rus' chronicle writing first appeared in Pašuto's 1950 study of Galicia-Volhynia and then, in greater detail, in his 1959 work on early Lithuania.[7] His arguments were based chiefly, but not exclusively, on factual content; Hen'sors'kyj accepted at least the Lithuanian Rus' origin of some of the information about Lithuania.[8] Erëmin and Ochmański challenged Pašuto on the stylistic consistency of the entire Volhynian section of the chronicle, but they did not refute him.[9]

An internal analysis of GVC does, in my view, yield evidence that some person recorded events in Lithuania and Lithuanian Rus' during the latter thirteenth century within the framework of Rus' chronicle traditions. The successive or joint reigns of six princes in Lithuania or Lithuanian Rus' are recounted in order: Mindovg (Mindaugas) after 1252 to 1263, with Roman Danylovyč in Navahrudak up to 1259; Trenjata (Treniota), in this case explicitly in Lithuania and Samogitia, 1263–1264; Vojšelk alone, 1264–?, and with his Rus' brother-in-law Švarno, ?–1268; Švarno alone, 1268–1270; and Trojden (Traidenis), 1270–1282[10] (see appendix 1–A). Švarno, who succeeded Danylo in Xolm before reigning with Vojšelk, is treated as the genuine prince of Lithuania and ruler in Navahrudak, the center of what was then Lithuanian Rus'.[11] The GVC also includes events pertaining solely to Lithuanian affairs or to Lithuanian relations with lands beyond Rus'. In the former case, the chronicler reveals familiarity with Lithuania's internal divisions and its main Rus' cities, and even displays a local patriotism.[12] Finally, the recapitulation of Lithuanian names (including on two occasions the more native form *Vojšvolk* for *Vojšelk*) reveals some acquaintance with the Lithuanian language.[13]

How are we to account for the transmission of all the Lithuanian information in GVC? The fact that different entries focus on each of six leading contemporary Galician-Volhynian princes precludes stipulating any previously identified redaction as having incorporated all the Lithuanian

[7] Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 113–21, and *Obrazovanie*, pp. 37–42.

[8] Hen'sors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, p. 4.

[9] I. Erëmin, "Volynskaja letopis' 1289–1290 gg. kak pamjatnik literatury," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*) 13 (1957): 102–117; J. Ochmański, "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 12 (1967): 155; Pašuto, *Obrazovanie*, p. 38.

[10] *PSRL* 2: 815–78 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 62–91); cf. Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 113–20, and *Obrazovanie*, pp. 37–42.

[11] *PSRL* 2: 864–69 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 84–86).

[12] Under A.M. 6786: *PSRL* 2: 876 (trans. Perfecky, p. 91, misprinted as 6788).

[13] *PSRL* 2: 863. In the Xlebnikov and Pogodin manuscripts the form was changed to *Vojšelk*.

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accounts. The entries concerning Danylo's and Lev's Lithuanian policies appear to have been written by Volhynian (Xolm) chroniclers. Others, which recount the Lithuanian succession, internal events, and specific foreign policies, betray a local outlook.

The inclination of Volhynian annalists to borrow from foreign chroniclers is evident in the relationship between GVC and the *roczniki*. The direct influence of a hypothetical earlier Kievan chronicle on Polish works has already been noted.[14] There is also one clear and pertinent example of parallel texts where the primacy of the Polish version is likely: the reports of Mindovg's raids on Mazovia in 1262.[15] No other GVC and Polish chronicle entries have such a close verbal relationship; apparently, however, starting with the 1266 redaction (*izvod/svod*), successive reworkings of the Volhynian Chronicle incorporated Polish and Lithuanian Rus' material and information.[16]

The Volhynian Vojšelk Tale

The V-GVC is presented in the entries from 1263 to 1268, that is, inside a section covered first by the 1266 redaction and its continuation and then integrated and reworked in 1286 and 1289/1290.[17] The GVC contains three other Vojšelk entries for an earlier period—(?)1252–1259. These, too, concern Danylo, lack indications from the 1289 redaction, and constitute the earliest known Vojšelk *gesta*. The first two, noting his acts of war, peace-making, baptism, and attempted trip to Mount Athos, seem to be a source for the first part of V-GVC.[18] The third records Vojšelk's capture of Danylo's son Roman during a Tatar-Volhynian invasion of Lithuania's lands in Rus'.[19] Although Roman's subsequent fate is not mentioned, the third notice hardly prepares the reader for the impending and different treatment of Vojšelk in the V-GVC—as a pious Christian, an ally of Švarno and Vasyl'ko.

A relatively long text for a chronicle report, V-GVC is a unified literary work, albeit interrupted by other entries. It begins with the story of Mindovg's murder by his brother-in-law Dovmont (Daumantas) and

[14] Franciszek Sielicki, "Kroniki staroruskie w dawnej Polsce," *Slavia Orientalis* 13 (1964): 134–38.

[15] Compare *PSRL* 2: 855; *Monumenta Poloniae historicae / Pomniki dziejowe Polski* (hereafter *MPH*) (Lviv, 1864–91; rpt., Warsaw, 1960–61; n.s. Warsaw, 1946–), 2: 807; cf. *MPH* 3: 362; 8: 116–17.

[16] See the entries for A.M. 6787, 6791, and 6794; *PSRL* 2: 880, 895, 897 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 91, 98, 99).

[17] *PSRL* 2: 858–70 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 83–99).

[18] *PSRL* 2: 819, 830–31 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 64, 69).

[19] *PSRL* 2: 847 (trans. Perfecky, p. 77).

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nephew Trenjata, and with a retrospective section relating Vojšelk's moral progress from bloodthirsty pagan to Orthodox monk. Related next are Trenjata's succession and the murder of his rival Tovtivil (Tautvilas) of Polock, followed by Trenjata's murder by Mindovg's former servitors. Then Vojšelk, who had fled to Pinsk, returns to Lithuania with forces from that city and Navahrudak, seizes power, and, with the aid of Švarno and of Vasyl'ko's troops, subdues enemy provinces. After a successful Lithuanian invasion of Polish Mazovia, Vojšelk turns full power over to Švarno and returns to the monastic life under his original mentor, Gregory of Polonyna. A short time later, with Vasyl'ko's assurances of safety, Vojšelk accepts an invitation to Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj to confer with Lev; there he is killed by Lev and buried in a monastery. Švarno continues to reign in Lithuania, but soon dies and is succeeded by the apparently unrelated pagan Trojden.

The tale is not without interest from a purely literary standpoint, for it contains elements of both folklore and hagiography (or homiletics). The entire structure of Vojšelk's life, with its adventures and endeavors, has a heroic quality. He makes five major journeys: an initial move from the princely throne of Navahrudak to the Polonyna Monastery, a second from Polonyna to Mount Athos and then back to Navahrudak, a third from Navahrudak through Pinsk to Lithuania, a fourth to the Monastery of St. Daniel at Uhroves'k, and finally one to Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj. Each of the first four journeys includes a major feat or deed: adopting Christianity and monasticism, founding a monastery upon his return to Navahrudak and so defying his angry father, exacting revenge and establishing order over rebellious Lithuania, and reassuming the habit. The last trip, to Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj, results in Vojšelk's death. The hagiographic elements include his quarrel with his pagan father, his discipleship to Gregory, and his return to the cloister prompted by a feeling of having "sinned greatly before God and man." Yet the chronicle does not treat him as an Orthodox prince-martyr, in spite of his violent death. After Švarno's passing, Lev was undisputedly the senior prince of Galicia-Volhynia, which precluded the rise of a cult honoring his victim.[20] The folkloric motifs in the tale are as striking as the Christian ones. Vojšelk begins his career as a daily practitioner of human sacrifice in Navahrudak (in Lithuanian *Vaišvilkas* means "hospitable wolf"). Dovmont murders Mindovg as an act of revenge: they were married to sisters, and when Mindovg's wife died and her sister came to mourn, Mindovg seized Dovmont's wife for himself. Trenjata does not simply assassinate Tovtivil; the two try to kill each other,

[20] Whether a local cult of Vojšelk arose near Navahrudak is an open question. On some possibilities, see below, pt. 3.

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and Tovtivil dies because he is betrayed by his own men. Mindovg's former grooms kill Trenjata as he is leaving his bath. Then, out of jealousy towards Švarno, Lev kills Vojšelk, after they have been drinking together as common guests of "Markholt the German" in the company of a mediator and father figure, Vasyl'ko Romanovyč. These motifs have parallels in a variety of traditions, including Greek mythology and the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*.[21]

The story is also significant from the standpoint of political ideology. The text berates Mindovg as a pagan and as a murderous "autocrat." His assassination is manifestly understandable, but Vojšelk is just as clearly the legitimate ruler: "All the Lithuanians welcomed their crown prince (*gospodičič*)." Yet, Vojšelk the monk does not wish to rule forever, so he installs Švarno as coruler and successor. Significantly, Vojšelk recognizes his uncle Vasyl'ko as overlord from the start; Vasyl'ko remains Vojšelk's "father" after the return to the monastery. Švarno's succession, with the chronicler's condemnation of Trojden's paganism and praise of his four brothers' Christianity (independently of their wars against Vasyl'ko),[22] imply that Lithuania should be Christian and that Rus' suzerainty or direct rule there is proper. All the same, this tale, along with the other Lithuanian entries, reveals a grudging respect for the legitimacy of the native Lithuanian princes, even as pagans, and for Lithuanian rule over the lands of Rus'. The V-GVC thus paves the way conceptually for the peculiar Lithuanian-Rus' symbiosis of the three subsequent centuries.[23]

The GVC Vojšelk Information and Other Chronicle Traditions

Hruševs'kyj believed that the V-GVC was a separate composition, written under Švarno before he died.[24] Its general accuracy, in light of the analogous information contained in the unrelated Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, supports the hypothesis that V-GVC was composed soon after Vojšelk's

[21] Note, for example, the Agamemnon cycle. A parallel murder in the bathhouse is found in "Nesčastnyj Danila," *Ivan-Bogatyr': Ukrainskie volšebnye skazki*, ed. N. Zabila (Kiev, 1960), pp. 57–65. Ja. S. Lur'e, without referring to these entries, stated that the GVC as a whole contains more epic-folkloric motifs than other Old Rus' chronicles: "K izučeniju letopis'nogo žanra," *TODRL* 27 (1972): 87.

[22] *PSRL* 2: 869, 871 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 86, 87).

[23] Incidentally, M. V. Malevskaja claims that architectural techniques also migrated from Navahrudak to central Lithuania in the latter half of the thirteenth century: "Arxitekturnyj kompleks Novogrudskogo detinca XII–XIV vv.," *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i slavjane*, ed. L. D. Pobol' et al. (Minsk, 1983), pp. 122–25.

[24] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, pp. 188–89.

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murder.[25] On the other hand, the existence of differing reports in the Polish and East Rus' chronicles raises the question whether the surviving version is the original GVC entry for the events of 1263–1267/1268.

The early surviving *roczniki* can aid us in determining which information for 1263–1267 is likely to have been found in the 1266 redaction and its continuation, and to have formed the basis of the earliest reports of neighboring chronicles, both Polish and Rus'.[26] One claims that "Trenjata and the Lithuanians" killed Mindovg and that Vojšelk and Tovtivil ("Theophilus") killed Trenjata.[27] Another, which is closer to the V-GVC, states that Trenjata hatched a conspiracy, killing Mindovg and two of his sons, and that Vojšelk left a Rus' monastery to avenge his father and kill "Trenjata and other princes."[28] A third simply records that Lev killed Vojšelk.[29]

The fifteenth-century Polish annalist Jan Długosz appears to have combined the extant *roczniki* notices concerning the murders of Mindovg, Trenjata, and Vojšelk with a characterization of Mindovg's tyranny. The latter was possibly derived from the GVC or one of the earlier Volhynian redactions. Długosz also advanced a seemingly rational motive for Vojšelk's murder—he was attempting to sieze Rus' lands.[30] Did Długosz find this motive, contradicting the V-GVC, in a Volhynian redaction, or did he use his imagination, as he most certainly had in assigning Mindovg a specific role in the 1262 campaign against Mazovia?[31] Whatever the case here, the GVC (?)1252–1259 and *roczniki* entries on Vojšelk provide evidence that the continuation of the 1266 redaction contained passages that were themselves sources for V-GVC and may have been written before Lev succeeded Švarno in Xolm in 1270.[32] The East Rus' chronicles help confirm

[25] *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* ed. and trans. J. C. Smith and W. L. Urban (Bloomington, 1977), pp. 88–89.

[26] See Gerard Labunda, "Główne linie rozwoju rocznikarstwa Polskiego w wiekach średnich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 78, no. 4 (1971): 804–837.

[27] *Rocznik kapitulny krakowski, MPH* 2: 807–808; cf. *Katalog biskupów krakowskich* 5, *MPH* 3: 362–63.

[28] *Rocznik Krasińskich, MPH* 3: 132.

[29] *Rocznik traski, MPH* 2: 840.

[30] Jan Długosz, *Historiae Poloniae libri XII: Annali seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1711), 1: 773–76. Also *Opera omnia,* ed. A. Przezdziecki (Cracow, 1863–87), 9: 387–88, 392, 404–405. Polish translation: *Roczniki cyli kroniki, sławnego Królestwa Polskiego* (Warsaw, 1961–74), 7/8: 176, 182, 199); cf. *PSRL* 2: 858 (trans. Perfecky, p. 82).

[31] Cf. Długosz and the *rocznik* tradition: *MPH* 2: 588–808; 3: 75, 206, 308, 363; 8: 117–18; Długosz, *Roczniki,* 7/8: 171–72. Hen'sors'kyj believes that Długosz obtained all of his information from the 1285/1286 redaction: *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys,* pp. 58–62. See below, fn. 49.

[32] See below, pt. 2. The V-N1C, however, only mentions Mindovg, his kinsmen-assassins, his covictim Tovtivil, and the avenger Vojšelk: A. N. Nasonov, ed., *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'* (hereafter *NPL*) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 84.

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this thesis. All East Rus' versions stem in part from the Novgorod 1 Chronicle (N1C), whose Vojšelk Tale (V-N1C) is clearly dependent on V-GVC. The fifteenth-century Rogožsk Chronicle (RC), however, is also peculiarly related to a Pskov reworking of Novgorodian traditions. RC names Trenjata, who is not mentioned in any other East Rus' chronicle, and states a fact otherwise found only in the *roczniki*: that he was killed by Vojšelk. Whatever the textual convoy of the RC's "Trenjata," the evidence from the *roczniki* and RC is that at least one early West Rus' account of these events different from the V-GVC was circulated.[33]

The known historical situation explains the role of Dovmont in the surviving V-GVC: Dovmont fled to Lithuania, served as prince of Pskov from 1265 until his death in 1299, and was an agent of East Rus' designs on Polock and Lithuania.[34] The V-GVC's hostility to Dovmont could easily have derived from Lithuanian or Lithuanian Rus' enmity toward him as an actual rival. The distinct treatments of Tovtivil in the *roczniki* (and by Długosz) probably reflect an entry in the 1266 redaction or its continuation. This would have associated Tovtivil with Vojšelk because of their past connections and similar, if separate, attempts to rely on Rus' forces to oust Trenjata and take over Lithuania.[35] Under what circumstances, then, did V-GVC arise?

The Volhynian Vojšelk and the GVC Redactions

An internal analysis of the V-GVC indicates a reworking of entries in the 1289 redaction that focus on Švarno and might well be the work of his chronicler.[36] Švarno is very much at the center of the recounting of Vojšelk's rule in Lithuania and most of his subsequent fate, while Vasyl'ko is sometimes added as an afterthought. Vojšelk's respect for Vasyl'ko following the return to monasticism is somewhat suspect. St. Daniel's Monastery in Uhroves'k is close to Švarno's Xolm, not to Vasyl'ko's Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj, but the V-GVC has Vojšelk say: "Close by are my

[33] Cf. *PSRL* 15: 33; A. N. Nasonov, ed., *Pskovskie letopisi* (hereafter *PL*), 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941–55), 1: 13; cf. also the schema noting the dilemma concerning RC in V. I. Oxotnikova, *Povest' o Dovmonte* (Leningrad, 1985), p. 100.

[34] The earliest Dovmont sources are *NPL*, pp. 85–86, 90; *PL* 2: 16–18, 21–22. His chief rival and target of attack from Pskov in 1266 was Jerden (Gerdienis/Erdanas) in Eastern Lithuania, who controlled Polock and Vitebsk in December 1264 but not during 1265: Friedrich George von Bunge, *Liv-, Est und Curländisches Urkundbuch nebst Regesten*, 6 vols. (Reval and Riga, 1853–71), 6: nos. 336–37. Later Lithuanian-Belorussian traditions claimed that Dovmont subdued Polock from Pskov and then attacked a Vojšelk-like figure: see below, pt. 3. A genuine mystery is the "Dovmont" recorded in the Laurentian Chronicle as having been killed while leading a Lithuanian army against Toržok and Tver in 1285: *PSRL* 1: 483.

[35] *PSRL* 2: 847, 860–61 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 77, 83).

[36] Cf. Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 116–17; Hen'sors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, pp. 39–40.

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son (*sn''*) Švarno and my other lord (*gsn''*) and father, prince Vasyl'ko (*Vasilko*).''[37] Švarno is also the chief figure in the war of 1265 with Poland.[38] The account enumerates his losses and condemns his conduct, while praising Vasyl'ko and his son Volodimer. Nevertheless, the tale has Vojšelk immediately relinquish the throne to Švarno and say to him: ''This land has been secured (*opasena*) for you.'' Vasyl'ko's name is also appended to Danylo's in the V-GVC's retrospective entry under 1263 about Vojšelk's peace-making in Xolm, whereas in the earlier flashback report of this event, under 1253/1255, no mention is made of Vasyl'ko.[39]

What about the two stories in the V-GVC that highlight Lev together with Vojšelk? The first, in contrast to the earlier narrative, states that Vojšelk made peace with Danylo in Halyč (not Xolm), and then served as godfather to Lev's son Jurij.[40] The second concerns Vojšelk's fear of Lev, need for Vasyl'ko's surety, evening of revelry, and murder. A rational Lev certainly would not have wanted the second set of events recorded as they stand. He could only have been helped by the first, if it had been coupled with a more explicit rendition of Vojšelk's betrayal of Danylo and his seizure of Roman than is found earlier, under 1259. The author of the 1289 redaction probably distorted Lev's motives for killing Vojšelk, but this is hardly evidence for the thesis that Lev's chroniclers—presumably those who continued and edited the 1266 redaction for the period from 1270 to 1286—composed an earlier story about his Lithuanian victim that is anything like the V-GVC.[41]

The contents of the surviving tale thus do not indicate that Lev's chronicler(s) edited any of the Vojšelk notices connected with Švarno. On the other hand, Archimandrite Gregory of Polonyna is mentioned most favorably in the accounts of Vojšelk's tonsure (1253/1255) and his return to monasticism (1268). This would indicate that Gregory or an ally of his played a role in unifying the chronicle material relating to Vojšelk.[42] The author appears to have put together information about both Vojšelk and the rise of Christian and Rus' influence in Lithuania, and yet to have stood outside princely rivalries. A writer close to Gregory and representing the Rus'

[37] *PSRL* 2:867. Could an original *gsn''* for Švarno explain why Vasyl'ko is *drugii gsn'' moi*? Hrušev's'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, p. 187, transmits the original logically as follows: ''ot tut kolo mene syn mij Švarno, a druhyj—hospodyn mij otec' knjaz' Vasylko.''

[38] *PSRL* 2:864–67 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 84–86); cf. *MPH* 2:592, 80, 75, 206. The *roczniki*'s 1266 is sounder than the GVC's A.M. 6776/A.D. 1268.

[39] *PSRL* 2:830–31 (trans. Perfecky, p. 69).

[40] *PSRL* 2:859 (trans. Perfecky, p. 82).

[41] Hen'sors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, pp. 60–61. The earlier entries could be from the 1266 or the 1286 redaction.

[42] Cf. Hen'sors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, pp. 63–66.

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church in Lithuanian territory and its connections with Xolm and/or Volodymyr (but not explicitly partial to either Volhynian diocese) is the most likely author or editor of the version of the Vojšelk tale that survives in the GVC.

Hruševs'kyj's hypothesis concerning Švarno's connection to the V-GVC, on the other hand, is probably correct. Gregory's presence in Uhroves'k near Švarno's Xolm lends credence to it. Also, the Gregory-oriented redaction of previous Vojšelk material may have been produced parallel to, if not as part of, the 1289 redaction.[43] This work could have been done under the direct influence of Vasyl'ko's son Volodimer or daughter-in-law Ol'ha Romanivna of Brjansk. They were both copyists, if not writers;[44] their marriage is one of the events that interrupts the flow of V-GVC;[45] and similar sobriquets are used for Vasyl'ko and Gregory.[46] The mention of Vojšelk's baptism of Jurij L'vovyč, then, should be seen as a prelude not to Vojšelk's betrayal of Danylo and abduction of Roman to justify Lev's urge for vengeance, but rather to Lev's diabolically inspired murder of his Lithuanian *compater*.[47] Moreover, not Lev, but rather Vasyl'ko and his son Volodimer were constant rivals of Trojden, Švarno's successor in Lithuania,[48] and thus had a greater interest in promoting Volhynian control over Lithuania's Rus' lands.[49]

II. THE NOVGORODIAN PROTOTYPE OF THE EAST RUS' VOJŠELK

The V-N1C is the basic East Rus' revision of V-GVC. Originating in the context of the struggles of Novgorod and Pskov against Eastern Lithuania and Livonia, and sandwiched between the accounts of real events in

43 Cf. Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 114.

44 Ja. D. Isajevyč (Isaevič), "Iz istorii kul'turnyx svjazej Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi s zapadnymi slavjanami v XII-XIV vv.," in *Pol'ša i Rus'*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974), pp. 265–66.

45 *PSRL* 2: 861–62 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 83–84).

46 "...jakože ne bys(t) pered nim/ po vsej zemli, i ni po nem ne budet": *PSRL* 2: 859, 913.

47 Pašuto and Hen'sors'kyj presume that Vojšelk killed Roman Danylovyč, who disappears from the GVC after the abduction: *Očerki*, pp. 113–14; *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, pp. 60–61.

48 Note the entries for A.M. 6770, 6772, 6782, 6784, and 6790: *PSRL* 2: 855–56, 862–63, 871, 874–76, 888–89 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 80–81, 85, 87, 89, 96). Perfecky's reading of the entry for A.M. 6784 is misleading. The original states that after consulting with Lev, Volodimer alone sent troops to oppose Trojden's settling of Prussian refugees in Hrodna and Slonim.

49 Hen'sors'kyj also sees the hand of Gregory in the GVC Vojšelk tradition, but, due to the presence of Jurij L'vovyč and the archimandrite in the same entry, considers the integration to have taken place in the 1285/1286 redaction: *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, pp. 63–64.

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Novgorod's relations with Lithuania,[50] V-N1C is part of a Novgorodian and Pskovian cycle that also includes the chronicle tales and the lives of Aleksandr Nevskij and Dovmont.[51] Obviously, the V-N1C has not received the same scholarly attention as the other two lives have.

The V-N1C omits the folkloric elements, Vojšelk's fate after he subdued Lithuania, and his ties to the Volhynian princes.[52] Otherwise this version follows the heroic-hagiographic structure of the V-GVC and further emphasizes the religious didactic, fantastic, and crusading elements. Vojšelk is now "chosen" by God as "His champion" who "recognizes the true faith" and journeys all the way to Mount Sinai—the site of the first dispensation.[53] He is baptized there and receives the New Law and then goes to Mount Athos for tonsure. He finally returns to the Christian parts of Lithuania, where he founds his monastery and quarrels with his father. The V-N1C specifies that Vojšelk retained the monastic rule during his punitive attack on Lithuania and vowed to return to the monastery after three years. Throughout this venture he is "armed with the power of the cross, . . . glorifying the Holy Trinity, . . . avenging Christian blood." Brief, tight, and consistent, the V-N1C forms a "verbal icon."

The local origin of N1C's 1261–1266 entries about Lithuania is incontestable, but the date of the V-N1C's composition is problematic. The *terminus ante quem* for the protograph of the oldest N1C manuscript is 1333.[54]

[50] *NPL*, pp. 83–85.

[51] On the role of these lives in the development of the Pskov Chronicles, see the conflicting views of H.-J. Grabmüller, *Die Pskover Chroniken Untersuchungen zur russischen Regionalchronistik* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 102–123; and Oxotnikova, *Povest' o Dovmonte*, esp. p. 70. The Life of Aleksandr did not enter N1C until the mid-fifteenth century: V. L. Janin, "Cerkov' Borisa i Gleba v Novgorodskom detince: O novgorodskom istočnike 'Žitija Aleksandra Nevskogo,'" in *Kul'tura srednevekovoj Rusi*, ed. A. N. Kipričnikov and P. A. Rappoport (Leningrad, 1974), p. 92.

[52] The V-N1C's interest in the "good" Tovtivil, on the other hand, was natural: in 1262, as the (Christian) prince of Polock, he joined the Northeast Rus' forces in an attack on the Jur'ev: *NPL*, pp. 82–83.

[53] The inclusion of Sinai here may not be accidental. A *bylina* based on a twelfth-century Novgorod pilgrimmage to the Holy Land mentions Sinai, and the archbishop Vasilij Kalika (1329–52), under whom the earliest known recension of N1C was written, propounded the Sinai-influenced Hesychastic doctrine concerning Paradise: "Sorok kalik so kalikoju," in *Byliny*, ed. V. I. Cicerov (Moscow, 1957), pp. 375–83, 497–98; A. A. Šaxmatov, "Account of the Text," in *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, trans. R. Michael and N. Forbes (London, 1914; rpt., Hattiesburg, 1970), p. xxxviii; A. I. Klibanov, *Reformacionnye dviženija v Rossii v XIV–pervoj polovine XVI v.v.* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 138–45. I am indebted to Professor Ihor Ševčenko for pointing out a possible significance of this surprisingly early reference to Sinai along with Athos.

[54] *NPL*, pp. 5–6, 99–100. Šaxmatov does not note any distinctly Novgorodian redaction between 1167 and 1333; *Razyskanija o drevnejšix russkix letopisnyx svodax* (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 379–80.

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The close textual connection between the V-N1C and the Dovmont Cycle offers some more useful clues.[55] It appears that the Novgorod chroniclers edited an account of Dovmont's wars of 1265–1266 together with the V-GVC and that these two related texts then served as sources for the Dovmont *Vita* (DV) in the original Pskov Chronicle (PC).[56] This work could have commenced as early as the late thirteenth century, when Dovmont was still alive, but more likely occurred in the early fourteenth century. Curiously, the initiation of local Pskov chronicle writing coincided roughly with the "all-Rus'" endeavors of the metropolitan Peter (a Volhynian, he served from 1308 to 1326), which influenced the N1C redaction of 1333.[57] Peter or one of his entourage may even have been the transmitter of V-GVC to Novgorod as well as of the source for the RC's "Trenjata." Accordingly, V-N1C ought to be dated to the middle years of the 1289–1332 period.

This version expresses one chief theme of the Lithuanian entries in the more open-minded GVC, namely, that the only good Lithuanian is a Christian. In the case of Novgorod, given the experiences there with the Livonian Knights, the only real Christian is Orthodox. The essential function of V-N1C was to bolster local ambitions toward Lithuania, just as the original V-GVC furthered Volhynian claims. In this connection the Dovmont sequel to V-N1C was suitable, since Dovmont served Pskov in the same way as Vojšelk and Švarno served Volhynia and Lithuania's Rus' lands.

The V-N1C remained the basic East Rus' Vojšelk legend for over four centuries. The presumably Novgorodian author had no reason not to lionize him and good reason to do so, since Novgorod and Pskov needed Orthodox Lithuanians to fight for Rus' against Lithuania in the latter thirteenth century. It was only necessary to remove him from his specific West Rus' environment and allegiances and transform him into a politically unattached Orthodox hero, struggling for the true faith. Such a Vojšelk would have been an ideal candidate for inclusion among the saintly, if not beatified, princes of Rus'. The East Rus' "all-Rus'" chronicles, which flourished after the mid-fifteenth century, and their sixteenth-century derivatives, quite

[55] Grabmüller and Oxotnikova miss this connection.

[56] This is found or reflected in the Pskov 2 or 3 Chronicle: cf. *NPL*, pp. 84–85; *PL* 1: 13, 2: 16, 82–83.

[57] For questions about the first real DV and the development of the Pskov cycle, note the opposing theories of Grabmüller, *Pskover Chroniken*, pp. 114–68, and Oxotnikova, *Povest' o Dovmonte*, pp. 1–70. For Peter and the relationship between his "all-Rus'" chronicle writing and N1C, see Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija*, pp. 245, 380, and his "Account," p. xxxviii.

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naturally appropriated Vojšelk and Dovmont together.[58] They found the "verbal icon" of the V-N1C suitable for several purposes, as we shall see.

III. RYMONT–LAVRYŠ–VASILIJ: THE TRANSFORMED WEST RUS' VOJŠELK

The Lavryš Tale (V-Lav) occurs at a crucial turning point in the initial, mythological section (L-myth) of the Lithuanian-Belorussian 2 Chronicle (LB2), at the end of Lithuania's second legendary dynasty, i.e., the line of Viten (Vytenis), and at the beginning of the reigning one, i.e., the line of Gedimin (Gediminas).[59] Justifying the accession of the Gediminids, this story is a fundamental statement of Lithuanian political-historical mythology. The genesis of V-Lav is difficult to determine due to scant evidence about the origin of LB2. The dating of LB2 and the origin of the separate parts of L-myth, among them V-Lav, remain moot issues.[60]

The Genesis of the Lithuanian-Belorussian 2 Chronicle

Lithuanian chronicle writing commenced in the 1380s with an account of Gedimin's sons. By about 1432, it had created a record of the period 1341–1431 that glorified Olgierd (Algierdas) and Vitovt (Vytautas). This was appended to a Smolensk (Belorussian) "all-Rus' " redaction of 1446 to produce what has been termed the Lithuanian-Belorussian 1 Chronicle

[58] The inclusion of the V-N1C was part of a process whereby tales of Batu's invasion; of the martyr-princes Mixail Jaroslavič and Mixail Aleksandrovič of Tver; of the cycle of Dmitrij Donskoj, the Battle of Kulikovo, and Toxtamyš's revenge; and of Dovmont (from a Pskov chronicle) were inserted among the more normal, laconic entries: Lur'e, *Obščerusskie letopisi,* pp. 67, 77–78, 116–21. Lur'e does not refer to the Vojšelk entries, which actually confirm his conclusions. Cf. Oxotnikova's chart, *Povest' o Dovmonte,* p. 100.

[59] The five known versions are found in *PSRL* 35:94, 150–51, 178, 198–99, 219–20; a sixth is indicated by the variant Patriarchal Codex readings for the Archaeological recension, *PSRL* 17:253–56.

[60] Earlier studies include I. Tixomirov, "O sostave zapadnorusskix tak nazyvaemyx litovskix letopisej," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveščenija* (hereafter *ŽMNP*), 1901: March, pp. 8–36, and May, pp. 79–119; also J. Jakubowski, "Studia nad stosunkami narodowościowymi na Litwie przed Unią Lubelską," *Prace Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, 1912, no. 7, pp. 1–98; and F. P. Sušyc'kyj, "Zaxidn'o-rus'ki litopysy jak pam''jatky literatury," pt. 1, *Zbirnyk ist.-filol. viddilu Ukrajins'koji akademiji nauk,* vol. 2 (Kiev, 1921; Russian trans., Kiev, 1927). Among later ones are Ochmański, "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," pp. 155–62; B. N. Florja, "O 'Letopisce Byxovca,' " in *Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja,* ed. S. A. Nikitin (Moscow, 1967), pp. 135–44; M. A. Jučas, *Lietuvos metraščiai* (Vilnius, 1968); idem, "Xronika Byxovca," in *Letopisi i xroniki,* ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974), pp. 221–24; V. A. Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy jak pomniki literatury* (Minsk, 1969); N. N. Ulaščik, "Belorussko-litovskoe letopisanie," *Voprosy istorii,* 1984, no. 12, pp. 63–72; idem, *Vvedenie v izučenie belorusskogo-litovskogo letopisanija* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 1–172.

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(LB1).[61] The various recensions of LB1 and its constituent parts go no further than 1446, which is thus the *terminus post quem* for the original.[62] Genuine Lithuanian-Belorussian chronicle writing does not seem to have been done from the latter 1440s to the end of the century.[63]

The first true "Lithuanian Chronicle" is LB2, which extends into the early sixteenth century. Eight recensions survive, all of them roughly identical for the period up to 1446 (not all continue that far).[64] The creative core of the LB2 is thus the L-myth, which runs to the death of Gedimin (1341), as well as the revision of the post-1341 LB1 material.

The sole "early recension" of LB2 (textually closest to LB1) breaks off before 1446 and gives no post-1446 clues about its composition.[65] Two of the five closely related "intermediary" recensions recount events with traditional Rus' dating from A.M. 7000 to 7022–7023 (A.D. 1514–1515), and conclude with another set, which uses a Western chronology from the fourteenth century down to 1567.[66] Accordingly, an original LB2 may have been composed soon after 1515. Another Polish-language "intermediary" recension is found in a manuscript containing Polish versions of the Lithuanian Privilege of 1447 (1457), the Lithuanian Statute of 1529, and an encomium of that year to King Sigismund I by Albrecht Gaštol'd (Gostautus), the chancellor of Lithuania (1522–1539) whose ancestors figure prominently in LB2.[67] Most likely, then, an original official "intermediary" version of LB2 was part of a package of historical and legal works representing the Lithuanian "establishment" at the end of the 1520s or the

[61] See Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy,* pp. 11–118; Lur'e, *Obščerusskie letopisi,* pp. 38–42

[62] Examples are the Suprasl', Nikiforov, and Academy recensions: *PSRL* 35: 19–67, 103–114.

[63] For internal evidence of this gap between the "late" recensions of LB1 and LB2, see *PSRL* 35: 79, 122–25, 166–67, 192, 212–13, 233–34.

[64] *PSRL* 35: 90–102, 128–66, 173–91, 193–211, 214–33; *PSRL* 17: 152–90, 247–93 (variant readings for "Patr.").

[65] This recension, called the Krasiński, may well have been a first working draft of LB2, but is found in a late sixteenth-century manuscript: A. Brückner, "Die Visio Tundali in böhmischer und russischer Uebersetzung," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 13, no. 1 (1891): 201; Ochmański, "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," p. 160; *PSRL* 35: 10–11, 128–44: Cf. Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy,* pp. 136–37.

[66] The Rumjancev and Patriarchal-1 recensions: *PSRL* 35: 212–13; *PSRL* 17: 185–90. The *PSRL* reproduces as footnoted variants two incomplete "intermediary" versions of LB2, which were taken from the same Patriarchal manuscript, the late seventeenth-century *Sinod.* no. 790, which the editors of *PSRL* omitted: *PSRL* 17: v-vii, 152–90, 247–93.

[67] The Olszewski recension: *PSRL* 35: 12, 173–92.

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early 1530s.[68] The convergence of influence for the prominent families mentioned in LB2 points to the years 1510/1522–1527,[69] a period consistent with the other data presented here.[70]

The Lithuanian Historical Myths and the Lavryš Tale

The structure of L-myth is rather simple. It begins with the flight of Palemon (Palemonas) and other Roman nobles from Nero's tyranny—they journey to the mouth of the Nieman—and then gives a narrative, consistent in style, about the fictional and historical princes of the Lithuanian lands and their expanding territory in Rus' down through the reign of Gedimin.[71] Besides V-Lav, several legends about place-names, clans, pagan practices, and cities are inserted into the account, sometimes with a characteristic connective clause, such as *vozvratimsja vospak* ("let us resume"),[72] evidence of a layered compilation.

A key source for names and events in this fanciful account, which reflects the actual significance of thirteenth-century Navahrudak, is GVC.[73] The V-Lav is more dependent on GVC than is any other part of L-myth, and thus should have formed part of the original, in spite of the fact that the surviving "early" recension of LB2 does not contain this particular legend.[74]

The V-Lav has four sections. They relate: (1) the succession of the (fictional) Narymont (Norimantas) and his four brothers, followed by his quarrel with the second, Dovmont; (2) the career of the youngest, Trojden,

[68] The "Chronyczka" that follows the Olszewski LB2 text and ends in 1446 appears to have been added around 1535, rather than when the initial "intermediary" version was written: *PSRL* 35: 192–93.

[69] Ochmański made note of the career of the last Monivid (Manivydis), who was *voevoda* of Eišiški (Eisiskes) during 1510–27, and Albrecht Gaštol'd, chancellor during 1522–39: "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," p. 159. According to L-myth, however, Eišiški was associated with the Dovoinovič clan, not the Monivids: *PSRL* 35: 129. Earlier Jakubowski pointed to a Gaštol'd and a Gedroickij who studied in Cracow in the late fifteenth century: "Studia," pp. 31–32.

[70] There are two other surviving recensions of LB2. The "late" Račinskij and "combined" Evreinov recensions add material for the early fifteenth century, some of which is also found in LB1: *PSRL* 35: 162, 230. The Evreinov recension integrates material from the "early" and "late" recensions and is not simply "early" (or "first"), as Ochmański claims: "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," pp. 155–56.

[71] *PSRL* 35: 90–97, 128–32, 145–53, 173–81, 193–201, 214–22; *PSRL* 17: 247–53.

[72] *PSRL* 35: 91, 129, 130, 131, 174, 175, 176, 195, 197; *PSRL* 26: 250.

[73] See Jučas, *Lietuvos metraščiai*, p. 58.

[74] In the "early" recension, L-myth simply breaks off after the beginning of Trojden's reign in the middle of page 72 obverse, without reaching the succession of Gedimin, and is followed on page 73 with the section for 1341–1446 (incomplete): *PSRL* 35: 132. Ochmański believes that this recension lacked V-Lav, which he sees as a special work with a supplementary justification of the Gediminid/Jagellonian dynasty, but he does not discuss V-Lav per se: "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," pp. 155–56, 160.

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and the early life of his (fictional) son Rymont (Rimantas), who becomes the Orthodox monk Lavryš-Vasilij;[75] (3) the murder of Trojden by Dovmont, followed by the revenge of Lavryš; (4) the succession of Viten. The four sections are analogous to the GVC's stories about: (a) Mindovg's quarrel with Dovmont; (b) Vojšelk's career up to the time of the founding of his monastery; (c) the murder of Mindovg followed by Vojšelk's revenge; and (d) Vojšelk's renunciation of his princely rights to Švarno. Dovmont's quarrel with Narymont and the assassination of Trojden reproduce the folkloric aspects of Mindovg's seizure of his sister-in-law and the bathhouse murder. Rymont-Lavryš's sojourn with the fictional "Lev Mstislavič" and the founding of the Lavryšev Monastery on the Nieman near Navahrudak follows Vojšelk's early period, but without his pagan butchery.[76] Aristocratic genealogy, heavily dependent upon GVC, is prominent in V-Lav. Roman's third and fourth sons, Gedrus and Gol'ša, are explicitly described as sires of the historical Gedroickij (Giedraitis) and Golšanskij (Galšan) princes (the latter had a semi-Orthodox heritage), who belonged to the two most prominent, purely Lithuanian princely clans of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[77] The rather prolific Svirskij (Svirskis) princes claimed descent from Dovmont[78] (whom, incidentally, V-Lav represents as having been "good, noble, and intelligent," and thus worthy to be chosen "Grand Prince of Pskov," in spite of his treachery toward Narymont). Roman, clearly a resurrection of Lev and Švarno's lost brother, is here a descendent of Palemon's companion Dovsprunk (Dausprungas), whose very name is taken from that of Mindovg's "brother" in GVC.[79] These family legends, moreover, parallel the myths of the aristocratic Roman origins of the patriarchs Gaštol'd, Dovoin (Davainis), and Monivid.[80] In fact, almost all of

[75] Lavryš is said to be his Lithuanian name, and "Vasilij" (from Vojšelk?) his Rus'ian name.

[76] Jakubowski supposed that the authors wrote about real people, but used tales from GVC as literary sources: "Studia," pp. 51–52.

[77] See *PSRL* 35: 132; W. W. Kojałowicz (Kajalovicius), *Herbarz rycerstwa W. X. litewskiego (1658),* ed. Franciszek Piekiosiński (Cracow, 1897), pp. 7–8, 23; J. Wolff, *Kniaziowie litewsko-ruscy od końca XIV wieku* (Warsaw, 1895), pp. 65–76, 94–115, 505–518; Oswald Backus, *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow, 1377–1514* (Lawrence, 1952), pp. 137–140, 145, 153–54.

[78] Wolff, *Kniaziowie,* pp. 505–518.

[79] *PSRL* 2: 847 (trans. Perfecky, p. 77); 35: 145. This could be another incarnation of the historical Vojšelk, whose monastic name, according to an unattributed source, was Roman: N. Elagin, "Pervye xristianskie mučeniki v Litve," *ŽMNP* 38, pt. 2 (1843): 113. Vojšelk was, after all, the historical Trojden's immediate Lithuanian predecessor. The historical Roman disappeared from the scene after his capture by Vojšelk; he may have died a violent death in Lithuanian Rus'.

[80] For the non-princely Gaštol'd, Dovoinovič, and Monivid (Manvydas) clans, see Backus, *Motives,* pp. 137, 138, 145.

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the other Lithuanian families, which J. Wolff considered to be "pseudo-princes," pretended descent from Gedrus or Dovmont[81] (see appendix 1–B).

The historical Lavryšev Monastery, which was most probably the restored cloister of Vojšelk,[82] also has a special role. Some traditions having a quasi-hagiographic foundation are presented in the account of Rymont's progress from pagan to Christian to renunciatory monk, his petition to Narymont for a place to build a monastery, and his first act there, that is, building the Church of the Holy Resurrection. Once the original founder, Vojšelk, was killed following a rather non-ascetic drinking bout and was buried in Volodymyr, a revised legend, giving him a new name and (presumably) interring him on the spot, made perfect sense for the cloister.

The V-Lav is thus an integral part of the completed L-myth, but with a particular connection to the Lavryšev Monastery and Orthodoxy in Lithuania, as well as to the Gediminid-Jagellonian, Gol'šanskij, Gedroickij, and many other purely Lithuanian family legends. The overall structure of the recorded life of Lavryš constitutes another "verbal icon," somewhat similar to the V-N1C. In addition, the story of Lavryš's campaign reveals a familiarity with Pskov traditions concerning Dovmont's attempts to take over Polock and Eastern Lithuania. An East Rus' chronicle connection to V-Lav is thus also a possibility.

[81] Wolff, *Kniaziowie,* p. 665.

[82] To my knowledge, archaeology in the Navahrudak/Nieman region has not turned up any other late thirteenth-century sites that could have been Vojšelk's monastery: D. Gurevič, *Drevnosti belorusskoj Ponemanii* (Minsk, 1962), p. 199; S. A. Tarakanova, "Arxeologičeskaja razvedka po Nemanu," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury* 57 (1954): 105. The Lavryšev Monastery first appears, in a source from 1386, as supported by the Orthodox Gediminovyči, and around 1524 was sufficiently important for its archimandrite to be appointed head of the Trinity Monastery in Vilnius: Amvrosij, *Istorija Rossijskoj ierarxii,* 6 vols. (Moscow, 1807–1815), 5: 1; P. M. Stroev, *Spiski ierarxov i nastojatelej monastyrej Rossijskoj cerkvi* (St. Petersburg, 1877), p. 545; (Metropolitan) Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi,* 13 vols. in 12 (St. Petersburg, 1857–83; 2nd and 3rd eds., 1883–1903), 5: 171; *Akty otnosjajščiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii,* 5 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1846–53), 2: no. 125. As early as 1709, after the cloister had been Uniate-Basilian for ninety-two years, its fathers considered both Vojšelk and Lavryš to have been the monastery's founders: *Arxeografičeskij sbornik dokumentov otnosjajščixsja k istorii Severno-Zapadnoj Rusi,* 14 vols. (Vilnius, 1867–1905), 12: 162–63. It was suppressed around 1837. Recently the village Lauryšava, a kilometer or so west of where the Vaouka rivulet flows into the Nieman and about 25 km. northeast of Navahrudak, was the site of the collective farm Zorka, a library, a hall of culture, and a monument to 187 partisans slain in World War II: *Belaruskaja saveckaja encyklapedyja,* 11 vols. (Minsk, 1968–75), 7: 352.

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Political Tendencies and Authorship

The political ideas of V-Lav represent a development and deviation from V-GVC. Some popular participation along with hereditary succession is assumed by the original, in the way that Vojšelk acquires power with the approval of "all the Lithuanians," but his right to hand power over to his brother-in-law is assumed, too.[83] V-Lav shows a similar interplay of political forces, but the concept of an elective principle within a narrow dynastic group is more pronounced, and the role of aristocrats is stipulated even more clearly than in other parts of LB2. When Narymont dies, "the Lithuanian and Samogitian lords" select Trojden. After Lavryš defeats Dovmont, the victors return to the new capital, Kernov (Kernave). Lavryš renounces any desire to rule and nominates Viten. The prince-monk reasons that his surviving nephews are disqualified by their youth and, implicitly, by the design of their father Narymont, who had given his own coat-of-arms, the centaur, to his brothers and fashioned a new one for himself, the *pogon/vytis*—a man mounted on a rearing horse with a sword extended from his outstretched arm, symbolizing the ability to defend the realm. The candidate possessing such strength is Viten, Trojden's former marshal (*konjušij*) from Samogitia, descendant of the two ancient Roman clans that bear the "Rose" and "Columns" coats-of-arms. The lords thereupon elect him, because they do not wish to disobey their "hereditary sovereign" Trojden, who had singled out the young Viten for his exemplary physical and mental qualities and elevated him to high office. Lavryš, the transformed Vojšelk, is now an instrument of the semi-elective succession of Gediminids rather than of the claims of the Volhynian Rjurykovyči to Lithuania.

The contents of V-Lav can shed some light on the authorship of the completed L-myth and LB2. Scholars so far have focused chiefly on the closely connected Catholic Gedroickij and Gaštol'd families and on the mixed Orthodox/Catholic Gol'šanskij family, whose outstanding representatives were both educated and very powerful in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These are the most prominent non-ruling clans in the chronicle.[84] The Roman orientation of at least one Orthodox legend of L-

[83] *PSRL* 2: 861, 867 (trans. Perfecky, pp. 83, 86).

[84] Jakubowski, "Studia," pp. 31–32; Ochmański, "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," pp. 158–59; Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy,* pp. 156–58; Jučas, "Xronika Byxovca," pp. 223–34; G. Ja. Golenčenko, "Studenty Velikogo Knjažestva Litovskogo v Krakovskom universitete v XV–XVI vv.," in *Kul'turnye svjazi narodov Vostočnoj Evropy v XVI v.,* ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1976), pp. 228–40; cf. Michał Giedroyć, "The Rulers of Thirteenth-Century Lithuania: A Search for the Origins of Grand Duke Traidenis and his Kin," *Oxford Slavonic Papers,* n.s. 17 (1983): 13.

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myth, the Catholic traditions contained in the second half of LB2, and the Catholicism of almost all Lithuanian families that figure in the chronicle point to a Roman Catholic author.[85] At the same time, the use of the Orthodox chronology, the retention by the "early" recension of LB1's characterization of Vitovt's Polish garrison in Smolensk as "infidel" (*nevernyi*), and the central place of V-Lav in L-myth all indicate a significant Orthodox role.[86] A new argument in favor of a Gaštol'd is that the previously noted Albrecht was *namestnik* of Navahrudak during 1503–1505 and 1508–1509, and *voevoda* of Polock in 1514. He was thus in a position to learn local Orthodox lore and to integrate it with other Lithuanian traditions.[87] As chancellor, moreover, he must have known all of the Lithuanian nobility's interests and thus those genealogical claims that L-myth and especially V-Lav furthered.

The V-Lav, then, is an Orthodox-based legend used by part of the Lithuanian elite to introduce the elective principle and to elevate a Catholic dynasty and the mainly Catholic families in LB2 without slighting the Orthodox. The author of V-Lav, probably a Catholic, was a tolerant partisan of Lithuania's mixed aristocratic-monarchial polity.

Excursus: The Lost Elisej Vita

According to the Hustyn' Chronicle of the mid-seventeenth century, Lavryš's name in Rus' was not Vasilij, but Elisej.[88] A Polish source from the same time also indicated that there was a lost Rus' life of "Elisej Lavryševskij" that centered on a miracle from the time of "King" Alexander. Alexander became Grand Prince (*Velikij knjaz'*) of Lithuania (Samogitia and Rus') in 1492, and also King of Poland in 1501. Elisej was a Lithuanian noble who had achieved a high position at court, but then fled to solitude. He was tonsured by another monk, attracted disciples, founded the Lavryšev Monastery and became its first archimandrite, but after an arduous ascetic life was murdered by a young man. For purposes of ritual,

[85] The L-myth contains a legend about Princess Prakseda/Paraskeva (Evfrosinija) of Polock according to which she dies in Rome (instead of in Jerusalem, as in the sixteenth-century East Rus' version), so that afterwards the Church of St. Praxedis was built there in her honor: *PSRL* 22: 206–220; *PSRL* 35: 130, 147, 175, 195, 216. V. Ključevskij was certain that a much older *vita* underlies the extant East Rus' one (*Drevnerusskija žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik* [Moscow, 1871], p. 262), which would imply another divergent Muscovite and Lithuanian-Belorussian development, analogous to that of the V-GVC.

[86] *PSRL* 35: 73, 140, *PSRL* 17: 281.

[87] Backus, *Motives*, p. 138. The unique Brief Volhynian Chronicle of ca. 1515 represents a more authentic, purely Orthodox, and Rus'-oriented work that focuses on the Ostrožskij family: *PSRL* 35 125–27.

[88] *PSRL* 2 (1843 ed.): 345–46.

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the date October 23 was given, but no year was specified.[89] While this differs from the time of Vojšelk's death given in GVC, the thematic parallels are obvious. At the present state of our knowledge, the origin and interrelationship of both Vasilij and Elisej are a mystery, as is the October date.[90] Nevertheless, it is clear that in Western Rus' the original Vojšelk legend split into two, whereby Lavryš became heir to the political element and Elisej to the religious one. Curiously, the historical monk Vojšelk was much closer in spirit to the violent prophet Elisha than to the martyr Laurus.[91]

IV. MUSCOVITE-LITHUANIAN COMPETITION AND RIVAL VOJŠELKS

A curious phenomenon of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century East European propaganda warfare is that the East Rus' began to use the V-N1C to counter Lithuanian dynastic claims and Polish power, while Lithuanians and the West Rus' further developed both V-GVL and V-Lav for domestic and international reasons. This can be seen especially in the development of a variety of politicized literary endeavors: Muscovite chronicles, the later redactions of the Pskov DV, and Lithuanian historiography.

The Novgorodian Vojšelk at the Service of East Rus' Ideologists

Early sixteenth-century Muscovite genealogical tales claim that Viten descended from the Smolensk princes, fled from Tatar captivity, settled in Samogitia, married a beekeeper's daughter, and was killed by lightning before he could sire any children. Thereupon Viten's slave and marshal (*konjušij*) Gedimin married his widow, sired seven sons by her to found a new dynasty, and set about to increase his wealth and power as the agent of the Grand Prince of Vladimir. These stories also claim that Rjurik de-

[89] Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 9: 176–77.

[90] Cf. Michał Giedroyć, "The Arrival of Christianity in Lithuania: Early Contacts (Thirteenth Century)," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 18 (1985): 18–19; the author kindly suggested that I investigate the connection between Elisej and the Vojšelk myth. Makarij's and Golubinskij's dates for the founding of Elisej's abbey (1225) and for his death (1250) and canonization (1514) are interesting guesses; however, they are not based on early or reliable sources: Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*; E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi* (Moscow, 1903), p. 217; and *Akty izdaemye Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju komissieju*, 39 vols. (Vilnius, 1864–1915), 1: 39–41.

[91] The original, second-century Laurus and his twin brother Florus were stone-cutters and martyrs from Dalmatia: *Acta Sanctorum*, Augustii, 3: 521–24.

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scended from Prus, the brother of Emperor Augustus of Rome.[92] The connections to LB2 are obvious: Roman origin of princes, succession in Lithuania of the "marshal" from Samogitia, and Gedimin's seven children. Now, however, the Rjurykovyči are of royal blood, Gedimin is a commoner, and Lithuania and West Rus' are historically subordinate to the senior princes of Rus'.

The actual relationship of the East Rus' fabrications to LB2 is harder to establish. The most logical event for the first known crystallization of the Prus legend, the *Čudov povest'*, is the coronation of Ivan III's grandson Dmitrij in 1498.[93] The claim of Roman origin, however, was already current among Lithuanians by the 1470s,[94] and the Moldavian court produced in the 1480s or 1490s a similar myth for Dmitrij and his mother Helena.[95] Still earlier, by 1412/13, Prussian Germans recorded the assertion that Gedimin had been Viten's *Pferdemarschalk*,[96] while other Prussian sources said that Gedimin was Viten's brother or son.[97]

To determine on the basis of all this information which Roman-origin or marshal legend influenced the other(s) is impossible.[98] It is clear only that the purely Lithuanian section of LB1, which goes back to ca. 1380–1432, influenced the Lithuanian genealogies of the East Rus' tales. With their tendentious and greatly falsified synopsis of Lithuanian history, the tales

[92] R. P. Dmitrieva, *Skazanie o knjazjax vladimirskix* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 16–70, 178. See M. E. Byčkova (Byczkowa), "Legenda o pochodzeniu wielkich książąt litewskich: Redakcje moskiewskie z końca XV i z XVI wieku," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 20 (1976): 183–99; and her "Obščie tradicii rodoslovnyx legend pravjaščix domov Vostočnoj Evropy," in *Kul'turnye svjazi*, pp. 292–98.

[93] This work underlies the better-known *Poslanie o Monomaxovom vence* and *Skazanie o knjaz'jax vladimirskix*. Variants from the *Povest'* are given by A. A. Zimin, who links this one directly to Dmitrij's coronation: "Antičnye motivy v russkoj publicistike konca XV v.," in *Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirnoistoričeskom processe*, ed. L. V. Čerepnin (Moscow, 1972), pp. 128–38; so does L. V. Čerepnin in *Obrazovanie russkogo centralizirovannogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1960), p. 16. Cf. Ja. S. Lur'e, *Ideologičeskaja bor'ba v russkoj publicistike konca XV–načala XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), p. 388.

[94] Jakubowski, "Studia," pp. 32–34; Čamjarycki, *Beloruskija letapisy*, p. 146.

[95] A. B. Boldur, "Slavjano-Moldavskaja Xronika v sostave Voskresenskoj letopisi," in *Arxeologičeskij ežegodnik za 1963* (1964), pp. 76–78; *PSRL* 7: 256–59. An interesting coincidence is that Marija (Marinka) Ivanovna Gol'šanskaja was married to the Moldavian *voevoda* Iliaş (1432–33, 1435–42), a probable ancestor of Dmitrij through his maternal grandfather Stefan çel Mare: Wolff, *Kniaziowie*, pp. 96–97; N. Iorga, *Histoire des roumains et de la romanité orientale*, 9 vols. (Bucharest, 1937–), 4: 108–130; *PSRL* 7: 257–58.

[96] *Scriptores rerum prussicorum* (hereafter *SRP*), 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1861–74), 5: 223.

[97] Petrus von Dusberg, *Chronika terrae Prussiae*, *SRP* 1: 15. *Russko-Livonskie akty* (St. Petersburg, 1868), no. 531; Je. Ochmański (Oxmans'kij), "Gediminoviči—'Pravnuki Skolomendovy,'" in *Pol'ša i Rus'*, p. 358.

[98] Čamjarycki sees the origin of this marshal legend as a Prussian reaction to the defeat at Grünwald in 1410: *Belaruskija letapisy*, p. 146.

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constitute an East Rus' response to LB1, a response which challenges the Lithuanians with assertions of their dynasty's plebeian origin and original fidelity to Orthodoxy. At this point Vojšelk enters the picture.

The Muscovite genealogical reworking of the Lithuanian chronicles continued with the little-studied sixteenth-century genre known as the Abbreviated Lithuanian Chronicle (ALC). One exemplary copy from 1526–1533 has been published.[99] It is based on a "late" LB1[100] and is followed by a recension of the Muscovite genealogy of the Lithuanian princes.[101] A hagiographically embellished version of V-N1C and a new recension of DV introduce the work,[102] and therefore they play the same role in ALC as L-myth and specifically V-Lav do in LB2—namely, they introduce Gedimin's descendants, who now have princely blood due solely to intermarriage. Vojšelk, whose home monastery is placed at Mount Athos and who is given the monastic name of the warrior-prophet David, initiates the obvious heroes of the Muscovite version of Lithuanian history—the putative and real Orthodox Lithuanian princes.[103]

Simultaneously (about 1527–1531) the Muscovite genealogies took a slightly different road, fabricating a Rus' origin for all the Lithuanian princes from the line of Rogvolod Borisovič of Polock.[104] This parallels the purported descent of the Polock princes from the Lithuanians in L-myth.[105] According to the Muscovite version, which first appears in 1538 in the Voskresensk Chronicle and there reveals familiarity with at least the names in the GVC, Vojšelk and Dovmont were both the sons of Mindovg, whereas Trojden ("Projden") was his nephew. Gedimin was no *konjušij*, but

[99] G. Boguslovskij, "Soskraščennaja litovskaja letopis'," *Smolenskaja starina* (Smolensk), 1, no. 2 (1911): 1–19.

[100] Cf. Boguslovskij, "Sokraščennaja. . .letopis'," pp. 7, 8, 14, 15; *PSRL* 35: 57, 61, 65, 71, 75–76, 132–33 137, 140–41.

[101] The genealogical source is of the *Poslanie* type.

[102] V. I. Oxotnikova corrects Čamjarycki's linking of the ALC's Vojšelk to V-GVC: "Povest' o pskovskom knjaze Dovmonte: K voprosu ob istočnikax i avtore Rasprostrannoj redakcii," *TODRL* 33 (1979): 266, 128; cf. *Belaruskija letapisy*, p. 128.

[103] The other two are Narymont Gediminovyč, coprince of Novgorod in 1333–36, and his brother, Grand Prince Olgierd (1343–77); their alleged Orthodoxy is underscored to set the stage for Jogaila's "apostasy": Boguslovskij,"Sokraščennaja. . .letopis'," pp. 9, 14, 17. ALC may also have initiated a characteristic feature of the creative sixteenth-century Vojšelk tales, all of which, in conformity with standard hagiographic taste, specifically have the hero return from his punitive expedition to his monastery.

[104] *PSRL* 7: 256–59, 30; also *PSRL* 17: 593–95, 601–602; Byčkova, "Legenda," pp. 188–89; idem, "Otdel'nye momenty istorii Litvy v interpretacii russkix genealogičeskix istočnikov," *Pol'ša i Rus'*, pp. 370–71; B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskij svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 177–80.

[105] *PSRL* 35: 130, 147, 175, 195, 216. Some versions insert Rogvolod between Ginvil/Boris, the first alleged Christian Lithuanian prince of Polock, and his children.

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Vojšelk's second cousin twice removed[106] (see appendix 1-C). A religiously embellished if brief version of the V-N1C, along with special notes concerning Olgierd and Narymont Gediminovyč (as Christians), now went into the chapter on Lithuanian princes of the official "Sovereign's Genealogy." These served to fortify the place of the Gediminovyči within the Muscovite aristocracy, as well as Moscow's active claim to hegemony over Lithuanian and Western Rus'.[107]

At roughly the same time, Muscovite political hagiography concerning Vojšelk reached its pinnacle with the highly influential, official, and ecclesiastical Nikon Chronicle.[108] The authors, who apparently were aware of V-GVC, developed a saintly and politically relevant Vojšelk out of V-N1C. As if presaging one of Ivan IV's foreign policy goals, the Nikon Chronicle says that Vojšelk occupied both Lithuania and Estonia during his year of reprisals, and that there he founded churches and monasteries and then installed his "chief general Andrej Danilovič" (Švarno?) as "grand prince."[109] Vojšelk returned to his monastery, where he "endeavored to do severe and greatly virtuous labor, and after much exertion and at a very great age died in the Lord."

A different hagiographical development associated with Novgorod and Makarij (archbishop there, 1526–1542, and then metropolitan of Moscow, 1542–1563) made use of the official genealogies and started to treat Vojšelk and Dovmont as brothers. As such, these two found a special place in the capital and in the *Stepennaja kniga,* a popular, mid-sixteenth-century work of "all-Rus'" sacred historiography, where Vojšelk and his "brother" were the only Lithuanian princes whose lives were recounted.[110]

[106] *PSRL* 7: 164–65, 253–54. Vojšelk may appear twice: as himself (*Vyšleg*) and as "*Vid,* ego že ljudi *volkom* zval" (*Vid,* alias "Wolf").

[107] *Rodoslovnaja kniga knjazej i dvorjan rossijskix i vyežix (Barxatnaja kniga),* 2 vols. (Moscow, 1787), 1: 28–30. Byčkova notes that some version of the Lithuanian genealogy is present in almost all of the genealogies: *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI–XVII vv., kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 175–97. Apparently unaware of V-N1C, she linked what she saw as a fifteenth-century reworking of the Volhynian Vojšelk legend to the Muscovite cult of the Trinity: "Legenda," pp. 195–96: cf. *NPL,* p. 84.

[108] *PSRL* 10: 144–45. Cf. Pašuto, *Očerki,* p. 144. The Nikon Chronicle's version is slightly closer to those of the 1497 and 1517 *svod*s (*ne zaby*) than to the Ermolin Chronicle (*ne izmeni*); cf. Kloss, *Nikonovskij svod,* p. 180; *PSRL* 23: 85–86; *PSRL* 27: 58–59.

[109] Kloss does not list GVC as one of the sources for the Nikon Chronicle, but where else could one have found "Andrej Danilovič" as Vojšelk's successor? *Nikonovskij svod,* pp. 139–99, esp. 180.

[110] *PSRL* 22, pt. 1: 301–302. A transitional "Middle Redaction" DV is preceded by an ALC-influenced rendition of V-N1C which concludes with a doxology and also presents Vojšelk and Dovmont as brothers: Oxotnikova, "Povest'," pp. 264–65. From Oxotnikova's discussion of the chronicle sources for the "Middle Redaction" DV, it is clear that the com-

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The ultimate East Rus' literary development of the Vojšelk motif was the Extended DV, which was composed after Stefan Batory's seige of Pskov, 1581, and which is connected specifically with that city's role on the northwest frontier and with Muscovy's struggles against Poland-Lithuania and Sweden. Adopting material from several of the variant East Rus' sources for Vojšelk and Dovmont, this version replaces the formulary description of Dovmont's youth with Vojšelk's life and transfers some of the earlier DV characterizations to Vojšelk. The Extended DV emphasizes Vojšelk's break with his ancestors, "divine illumination," monastic path to purification, obedience to his superior, enjoyment of divine protection, continuous piety, and courage. Once more a monk residing at Mount Athos, Vojšelk travels to Lithuania twice, the first time to convert his "brother" Dovmont and to attempt the same with "their father," and the second time to exact revenge "for Christian blood."[111]

The "all-Rus'" chronicles, the official genealogies, and the *Stepennaja kniga* reached a substantial audience among the elite into the late seventeenth century, if not beyond.[112] Thus the original Novgorodian *Vojšelk,* conceived around 1300, had a four-century history; the legend began as an expression of the local struggle against Baltic neighbors and developed into a component part of the East Rus' claim to the Kievan Rus' legacy and of the accompanying rivalries with Poland-Lithuania and Sweden. The sixteenth-century East Rus' Vojšelk, with his devotion to the "divine writings," monasticism, and militant propagation of Orthodoxy—the perfect monk and the perfect Christian warrior—was a typical creation of Muscovy's regional hegemonic nationalism and yet was conceptually true to the original Novgorodian prototype.[113]

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mon denominator is the Novgorodian (*Sofija*) rather than another "all-Rus'" chronicle subfamily.

[111] Compare Serebrjanskij, *Žitija*, "Teksty," p. 143; *PL* 2: 16. It is based on the ALC and "Middle" DV Vojšelk tales as well as the standard East Rus' chronicle version: Serebrjanskij, *Žitija*, p. 278; Oxotnikova, "Povest'," pp. 274–78. Oxotnikova claims that a common source from about the 1520s underlies both ALC and the Extended DV: "Povest'," pp. 267. Her arguments and evidence, however, do not indicate why the fusion of various Dovmont traditions should have occurred in such an unknown source rather than during the composing of the Extended DV with the Vojšelk tale.

[112] Serebrjanskij, *Žitija,* "Teksty," pp. 143–44. Even the locally important Extended DV survives in at least seven copies: Oxotnikova, "Povest'," p. 262.

[113] Cf. H.-J. Grabmüller's review of Werner Philipp, "Heiligkeit und Herrschaft in der Vita Aleksandr Nevskijs," *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (1973): 55–72, in *Russia medievalis* 4 (1979): 132.

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The Volhynian Vojšelk, Lavryš, and Lithuanian Politics

Lithuanian chronicle writing and historiography had their own peculiar development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First came a revised and expanded version of the LB2 known as the Lithuanian-Belorussian 3 Chronicle (LB3). At present represented only by the Byxovec Chronicle (BC) which breaks off at about 1506/1508,[114] the revision was begun in the 1520s or 1530s and completed in the 1550s; it circulated in a slightly different version in the 1570s.[115] Displaying blatant anti-Polish sentiments,[116] as well as an awareness of Muscovite-Lithuanian genealogies,[117] it is ultimately the work of an Orthodox patriot with ties to Navahrudak and the cultural revival centering around Sluck and, perhaps, the newly established Suprasl' Monastery.[118] The LB3 was followed in 1582 by the publication of the *Kronika* of the erudite Polish immigrant canon and court official, Maciej Stryjkowski, who utilized a variety of Rus', Polish, and other sources in expressing a republican and pro-Polish, patriotic attitude.[119]

The chroniclers' first creative manipulation of the prince-monk motif after LB2 was to rediscover the West Rus' (Volhynian) Vojšelk—not only the name, which is found in LB2, but also the legend.[120] Sometime between

[114] *PSRL* 32: 128–73. It is also published in Russian and Lithuanian translation: M. N. Tixomirov, *Xronika Byxovca* (Moscow, 1966); R. Jasas, *Lietuvos Metraštis: Bychovo Kronika* (Vilnius, 1971).

[115] N. N. Ulaščik, "'Litovskaja i žmojtskaja kronika' i ee otnošenie k xronikam Byxovca i Stryjkovskogo," in *Slavjane i Rus'*, ed. E. I. Krupov (Moscow, 1968), p. 360. Also Sušyc'kyj, "Zaxidn'o-ruski litopysy," pp. 99–100; Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy,* pp. 180–88; and B. N. Florja, "O 'Letopisce Byxovca,'" pp. 135–44. For alternative views that discount evidence from the "combined" LB2 or Stryjkowski, see Ochmański, "Nad Kroniką Bychowca," pp. 158–60; Jučas, "Xronika Byxovca," pp. 220–31. Note, however, *PSRL* 35: 234–38; and Maciej Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, żmódska i wszystkiej Rusi,* ed. Mikołaj Malinowski, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1846; orig. Königsberg, 1582), vol. 1, pp. 331ff.

[116] *PSRL* 32: 139–40, 151, 153, 160–62.

[117] LB3 claims that Viten was killed by thunder, a fact that could have been found in genealogies with or without V-N1C: *PSRL* 32: 136; Dmitrieva, *Skazanie,* pp. 166, 179; Boguslovskij, "Sokraščennaja . . . letopis'," p. 16. *PSRL* 17: 589, 601.

[118] *PSRL* 32: 168–73; Čamjarycki, *Belaruskija letapisy,* pp. 184–85; A. I. Rogov, "Suprasl' kak odin iz centrov kul'turnyx svjazej Belorussii s drugimi slavjanskimi stranami," in *Slavjane v èpoxu feodalizma,* ed. L. V. Čerepnin (Moscow, 1978), pp. 324–27.

[119] Stryjkowski, *Kronika,* 2: 97, 173, 232ff. In certain places he is consciously opposing what we now know to be LB3: *PSRL* 32: 57, 75. Cf. A. I. Rogov, *Russko-pol'skie kul'turnye svjazi v èpoxu Vozroždenija* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 123–56.

[120] The "intermediary" recension of LB2 had already interpolated Vojšelk's name at the end of the first legendary Roman dynasty as one of the three sons of "Ringolt," but contained the qualification: "Nothing further is written about that Vojšvilak." The addition, which could have derived from an awareness of the West Rus' Vojšelk, does not appear to have served any particular political purpose: *PSRL* 35: 92, 131, 149, 176, 197, 218. The interpolated nature of

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1520 and 1570, one of the authors of the LB3 injected a reworking of the GVC's stories about Mindovg and Vojšelk into the mythological history at the appropriate place, between the demise of the first reigning "Roman" clan (Palemon's) and the accession of the second (Centaur).[121] Two of the themes from LB2 further developed in LB3 are the progress of Christianity in Lithuania and its historical sovereignty. The Volhynian Mindovg and Vojšelk, with their paganism intact, were useful figures for the development of both motifs. The natural editorial approach of the author of LB3 was to remove Vojšelk's subordination to the Volhynian princes and to make him an independent rival—which explains his murder—rather than to imply any Rus' right to control Lithuania.[122]

The fact that BC breaks off temporarily before Vojšelk's death complicated any further deductions about the intentions behind the LB3 revision. The resurrection of the Volhynian Vojšelk may have been prompted by the Muscovite manipulation of the Novgorodian Vojšelk. It also could have been conceived in response to contemporary West Rus' interest in the GVC,[123] a native history that is often less than kind to Lithuania.

Stryjkowski, who relied on both LB3 and the works of Polish historians for his "facts,"[124] made a politically imaginative addition concerning the politics of succession after the murders of Mindovg and Trenjata.[125] According to him, the realm was shaken by internecine strife. The Lithuanian "Grand Principality and *Rzeczpospolita*" required one true sovereign to deal with the realm's chief enemies, Livonia and Prussia, and also with Rus'. The nobility assembled to elect a prince, and the native Rus' called for one of their own. The ethnic Lithuanians and Samogitians,

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the Vojšvilak insert is clear from what follows: "After the death of Ringolt. . . ." Ringolt is an obvious equivalent of the last phase of the GVC's Mindovg: both survive a combined Mongol-Rus' invasion of Lithuania and have three known sons, among whom Vojšelk is the legitimate successor.

121 The Lithuanian statesman and scholar Rotundus (ca. 1520–84) noted the existence of three versions: one close to the "early" and "combined" LB2 ("Ringoltum sterliem decessesse"); one close to BC ("regno filio Mendago. . .reliquit"); and one which appears to be a variant of the "intermediary" and "late" LB2 ("filium Volsuincum reliquisse. . .sed eum imbellum fuisse, itaque Novogrudios comtempta eius agnavia, ad Suintarum Lituanis et Samogitis imperatem defecisse"): Jakubowski, "Studia," p. 97; cf. *PSRL* 35:92, 131, 149, 176, 197, 218; *PSRL* 32:132.

122 Cf. *PSRL* 35:147, 149, 154, 157; *PSRL* 32:132–34, 138–41, 143–45, 151, 153.

123 Cf. Šaxmatov, "Predislovie," *PSRL* 2:viii–ix.

124 Stryjkowski presents both the GVC-LB3 and the Polish historiographic tradition (Długosz, et al.) concerning the murder of Trenjata: *Kronika,* p. 299.

125 Stryjkowski, *Kronika,* pp. 299–304. The version of his history written completely in verse but never published was even more imaginative, poetic, and colorful: *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdskiego i ruskiego,* ed. Julia Radziszewska (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 200–202.

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on the other hand, pointed to their Roman ancestry, as well as to the fact that they ruled over the Rus' and were never ruled by others. Once elected, a Rus' would favor his more numerous countrymen, who would then take over Lithuania. Therefore Vojšelk, as an adult heir, had to be forced to take the throne. He does so and becomes a warrior-prince who tries to seize Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj when Lev invites him there for peace talks. Stryjkowski ends with Vasyl'ko and Švarno reproaching the murderer of Lev for defying "the law of all nations," breaking the code of guest-friendship, and thereby bringing shame upon the Rus'.

These anti-Rus' motifs may be linked to three specific events: the actual Muscovite-Lithuanian War of 1563–1582, Moscow's control of a goodly part of Belorussia during this period, and Lithuanian Orthodox support of a Muscovite candidate for the throne during the *interregna* of the 1570s, after the line of Gedimin had died out. Stryjkowski was in principle not anti-Rus' at all,[126] but for political reasons he transformed a story that promoted Rus' domination of Lithuania into one that reasserted Lithuanian rule over Rus'. The nobility also displays statesmanship in these renditions of Vojšelk and Lavryš, the latter calling a *sejm* or assembly to elect his successor.[127] Stryjkowski's accounts of Vojšelk and Lavryš subsequently went almost verbatim into the early seventeenth-century Belorussian Lithuanian-Samogitian Chronicle, which on the whole was narrower in scope and anti-Polish.[128] Stryjkowski's renditions also influenced the very pro-Polish *Historia* by the moralizing Jesuit genealogist, Albert Kojałowicz.[129] Understandably, there the dangers of electing a Rus' grand prince are emphasized even more. At the same time Vojšelk takes on a somewhat tragic hue, as his desire for bloody vengeance displaces his former monastic morality. Although he continues to wear the habit, "philosophy" no longer penetrates it. His own murder, however despicable, is thus a result of this fallen state.

Stryjkowski's Vojšelk and Lavryš—Orthodox Lithuanian prince-monks with quasi-republican sentiments and crucial roles in the nation's pre-Catholic period—passed as real historical entities into later Lithuanian,

126 Stryjkowski, *Kronika*, pp. 80–82.

127 *Kronika*, pp. 300–301, 329–30. On the intellectual context of Stryjkowski's political views, see S. F. Sokol, *Političeskaja i pravovaja mysl' v Belorussii XVI–pervoj poloviny XVII v.* (Minsk, 1984), esp. pp. 71–105, where a (despotic) *knjaz'* is contrasted to the (lawful) *korol'*.

128 *PSRL* 32: 27–30, 32–34; cf. N. N. Ulaščik, "'Litovskaja i žmojtskaja kronika,'" pp. 367–72.

129 Albert Wijuk-Kojałowicz, *Historiae Litvanae pars prior* (Gdansk, 1650), pp. 93–130; cf. Zenonas Ivinskis, "Kojałowicz-Wijuk, Albrecht," *EL* 3: 150–52.

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Belorussian, and Polish writings. The Ukrainian Hustyn' Chronicle, on the other hand, restored the Volhynian orientation of Vojšelk.[130]

So long as both the princely-military and monastic ideals flourished in Eastern Europe, the Vojšelk legends retained vitality. Only in the nineteenth century did critical scholarship start seriously to separate fact from fancy.[131]

Georgetown University

[130] The Hustyn' Chronicle synthesized the GVC, V-N1C, LB2 and Stryjkowski in rendering brief versions of both Vojšelk and Rymont (-Elisej, not Lavryš): *PSRL* 2 (1843 ed.): 343–46.

[131] T. Narbutt, for example, expressed the highest degree of romanticism and credulity: *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego,* 9 vols. (Vilnius, 1835–41). Eighty more years passed before Šušyc'kyj demonstrated the essentially fictional nature of L-myth: "Zaxidn'o-rus'ki litopysy," pp. 167–223. For another view, see Giedroyć, "The Rulers of Thirteenth-Century Lithuania."

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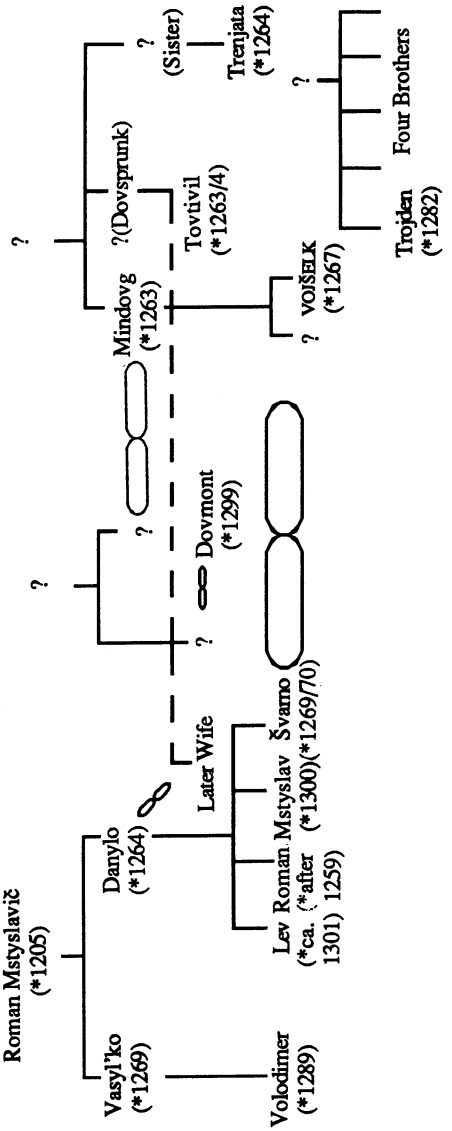
APPENDIX 1: Historical and Mythological Genealogies

A) *Princes of Galicia-Volhynia and Lithuania (from GVC)*



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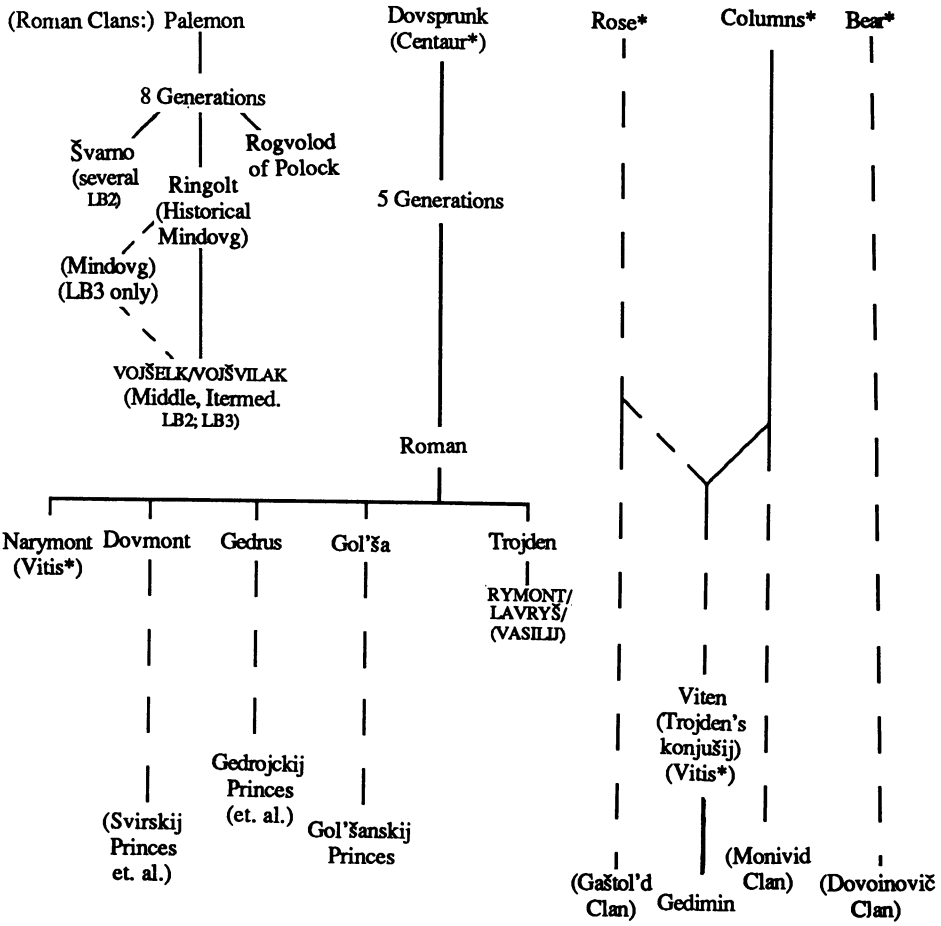
APPENDIX 1: Historical and Mythological Genealogies

B) *Mythological Lithuanian Genealogy (from LB2 and LB3)*

(* = Coat of Arms)



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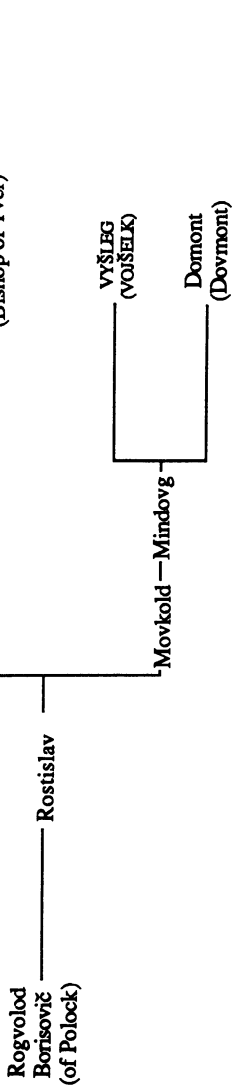
APPENDIX 1: Historical and Mythological Genealogies

C) *Official Muscovite Genealogy of the Lithuanian Princes*



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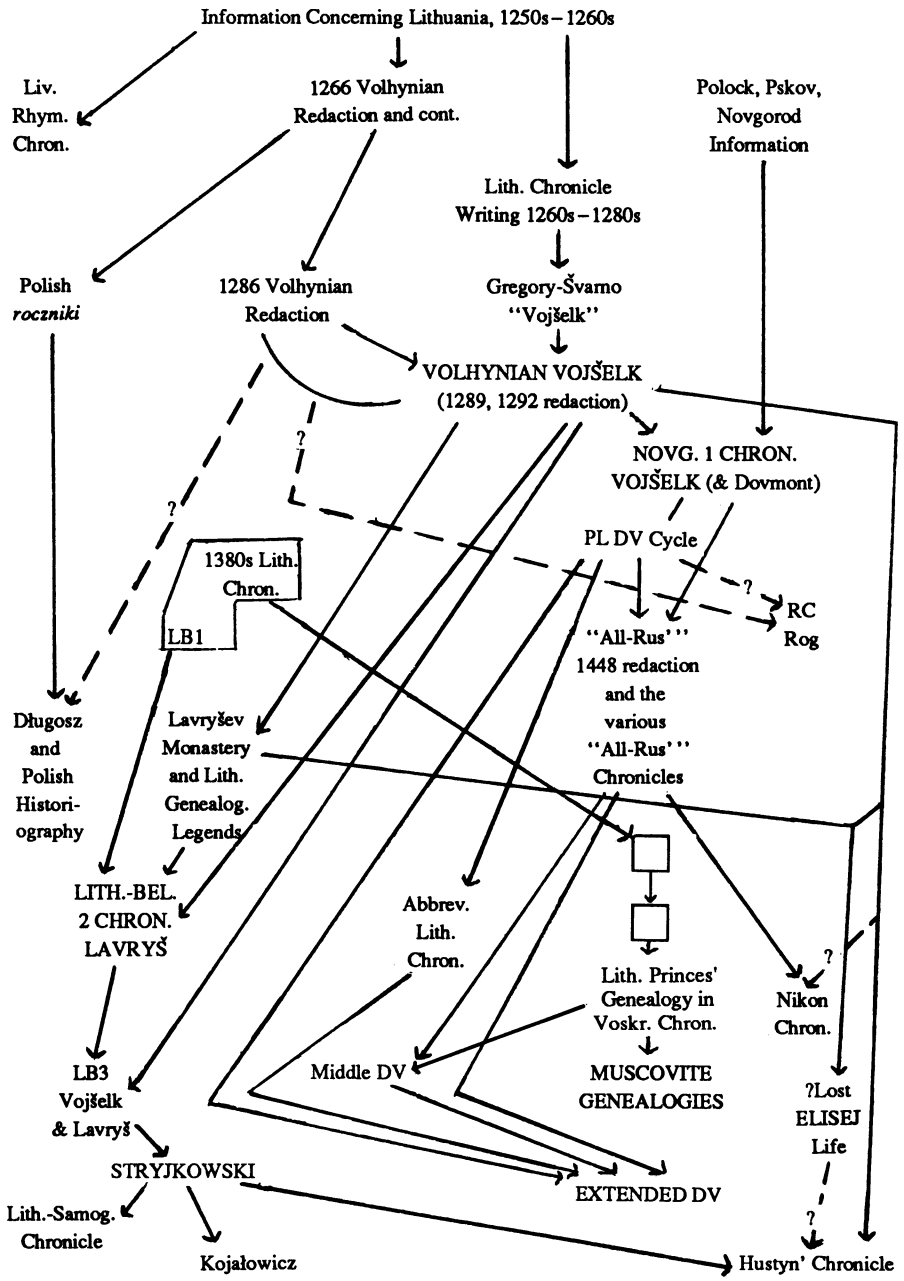
APPENDIX 2: The Vojšelk and Genealogical Traditions



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APPENDIX 3: Abbreviations of Chronicles and Texts

ABL	Abbreviated Lithuanian Chronicle
BC	Byxovec Chronicle
DV	Dovmont Vita (Life of Dovmont)
GVC	Galician-Volhynian Chronicle
LB1	Lithuanian-Belorussian 1 Chronicle
LB2	Lithuanian-Belorussian 2 Chronicle
LB3	Lithuanian-Belorussian 3 Chronicle
L-myth	Mythological sections of LB2
N1C	Novgorod 1 Chronicle
PC	Pskov Chronicle
RC	Rogožsk Chronicle
V-GVL	Volhynian Vojšelk tale
V-Lav	Lavryš tale
V-N1C	N1C Vojšelk tale

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